5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:- pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges,* pl. *ilousan),*
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest,* pl. *tilousin),* while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal,* pl. *iḍoulan),* or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt,* pl. *teḍoulin).* These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. + Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Iḥaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universial occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidá*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-